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A MESSAGE

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BY

DR. A. B. WALKER,

President and Promoter

OF

THE AFRICAN CIVILIZATION MOVEMENT.

Respice. Aspice. Prospice.

ST. JOHN, N. B., CANADA.

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FRONTISPIECE—A. B. Walker, B. A., LL. B., D.C. L., President and Promoter of The African Civilization Movement.

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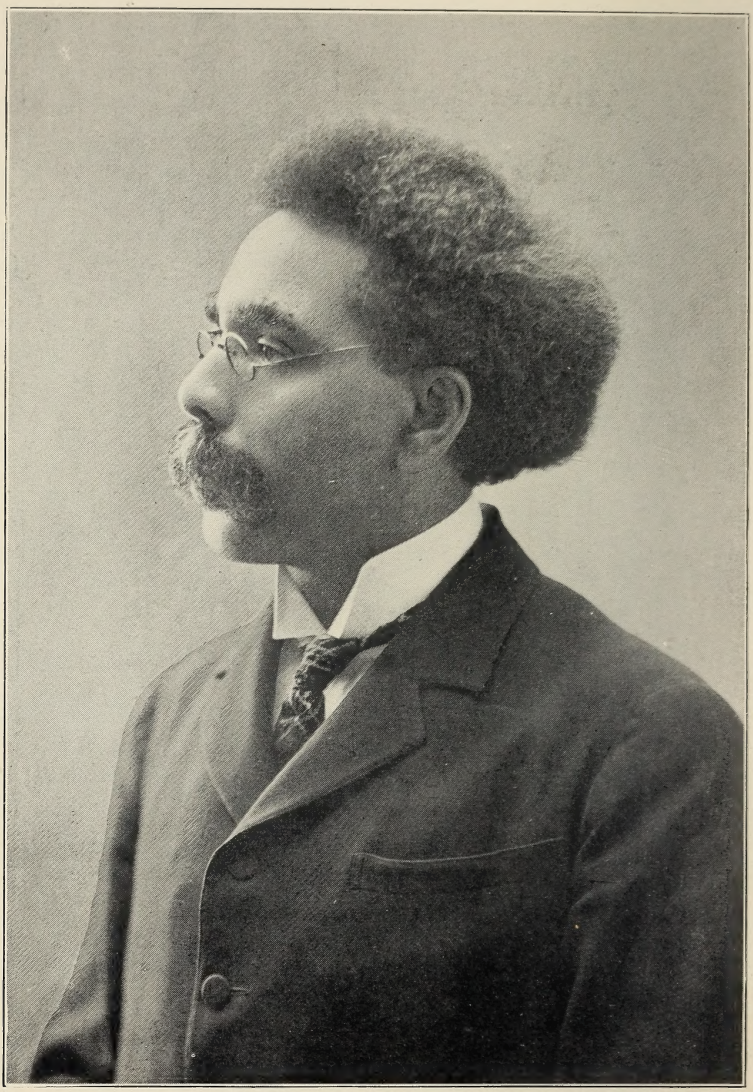

A. B. WALKER, B. A., LL. B., D. C. L.,
President and Promoter of The African Civilization Movement.

The African Civilization Movement.

WE PLEAD FOR A FULL MEASURE OF JUSTICE, RIGHT, AND EQUALITY FOR ALL MANKIND.

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Barrister-at-Law,
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Presiding Elder and General Superintendent of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the Maritime Provinces of Canada.

Assistant Secretary:
JOHN JACKSON,
ST. JOHN, N. B.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE PUBLIC.

SECTION I.

THE OBJECT.

The object of this organization is to discuss and investigate all matters which relate to the welfare of the African race, and to promote a feeling throughout the world leading to the bringing of Africa within the pale of Christian civilization; or, in other words, it is our aim to open up the way to the founding in some part of British Africa, not already largely occupied by white people, a colony of an intelligent, educated, industrious class of English-speaking Negroes drawn from

English-speaking countries. Indeed, we believe that such a colony as we mean to establish will, by its leavening influence, eventually spread Christian civilization throughout the whole of Africa.

SECTION II.

THE IDEA.

The idea is perfectly feasible. There are splendid precedents for it in both ancient and modern times; for example, Phœnicia and Greece among the ancients, and America and Australia in modern times. The greatest modern example, aye, the greatest example in any age, is the republic of the United States of America—it evolved out of a settlement of between 200 and 300 people. It is now a fact of history that the United States, one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations on the earth—a nation that defends and stands for all the sacred traditions of the grand and mighty Anglo-Saxon race, *a royal and magnificent breed of men* — took its rise from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, at Plymouth Rock, in 1620, 285 years ago. It will be remembered that the Pilgrim Fathers had to cross the ocean in an old-fashioned wooden sailing vessel, and their implements consisted in a few axes, hoes, picks, shovels, and plows, of the most clumsy pattern; and before them was a dense forest filled with wild beasts, and the dauntless, zealous, revengeful red man, who fiercely contested every step of their inward march. None of this will have to be encountered today by Negro settlers in Africa. They can be carried thither in commodious passenger steamers, and supplied with the best of all kinds of farming utensils and machines; and instead of being forced to fight their way, they will be welcomed by a kindly, compatriotic race with open arms. The fact of the matter is, the Negroes of Africa are sending invitations and appeals to the Negroes of America to go there and lay the foundation of a great Negro nation.

SECTION III.

The Resources of Africa.

Africa is a land of wonderful resources. It abounds in great tracts of mahogany, rose-wood, camwood, teak, lignum vitæ, ebony, hard pine, cedar, box-wood, lance-wood, gum-woods, and dye-woods of all species and descriptions. It is also richly supplied with diamonds, jewels, gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, coal, petroleum, natural gas, and great quarries of marble and granite. And great areas can be made to grow immense quantities of the highest grades of cotton, flax, hemp, tobacco, coffee, tea, sugar, spices, nuts, drug materials, fruits, vegetables, vegetable oils, and all kinds of staple and marketable grains and pulse. So, too, can horses, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, swine, and fowls of every variety and genus, be raised there easier and cheaper than on any other part of the globe. And its rivers, lakes, and streams teem with wholesome and palatable fish, and its forests with all kinds of game.

In regard to the climate of Africa, it is fine, regular, and healthy—as a whole healthier than Asia, and just as healthy as Europe or America. On the table-lands, and near the great lakes and rivers, some of the natives live to the great age of 170 years.

SECTION IV.

The Extent of Africa.

Africa is an extensive continent. It has an area of about 12,000,000 square miles. It is about 5,000 miles long, and about 4,600 miles wide. And it has an indigenous, aboriginal population of more than 250,000,000. And this population belongs to the Negro race, of which there are four pronounced groups, namely, the Ethiopians, the Kaffirs, the Guinease, and the Hottentots. And all the hundred and one or more petty tribes may be easily distributed or divided among these four groups. At all events, these four groups

will include the whole African race, with all its varieties, shades, mixtures, and types.

Africa can be made to maintain a great population, and maintain it in splendor and affluence. We are convinced, after carefully looking into the question, that it can be made to amply and bountifully support a population of a billion and a half — 1,500,000,000 — and then it would not be as thickly populated, per square mile, as Europe.

Some portions of Africa are capable of very dense habitation. Hundreds of thousands of square miles of territory, in the vicinity of Victoria Nyanza, and stretching from that up to Albert Nyanza, and the Egyptian frontier, and along through to the western boundary of Uganda, can be made, with the application of modern ideas and methods, to sustain a population, living up to all the latest requirements of civilization, of over 300,000,000. We should not forget the Congo State; it is also a splendid country—magnificent enough and spacious enough, if developed, to feed, shelter, and clothe all Europe, and have plenty to spare. In fact, the whole of Central Africa, from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean, is a veritable Paradise, a veritable Garden of Eden; its picturesque table-lands, lakes, rivers, mountains, and valleys, and the wealth, fertility, and variety of its soil, surpass the world. And then there are North Africa and South Africa, two very fine sections.

SECTION V.

Africa and the Nations.

Africa is partitioned among the nations, to wit:—England, 2,633,566 square miles; France, 2,902,624 square miles; Belgium, 865,400 square miles; Portugal, 841,025 square miles; Germany, 822,000 square miles; Italy, 602,000 square miles; Spain, 203,767 square miles; and Turkey, 836,000 square miles. The balance is independent and unappropriated.

It will be seen by this that Africa is pretty well staked off by the nations. Nevertheless, the natives are, *de jure,* the owners; that is, in the forum of equity and conscience, the natives are the tenants of the soil and its appurtenances. According to modern international law, no power, however strong or dominant, can, either by conquest or discovery, take possession of an uncivilized country, and disinherit its people, or connive at their extermination. The enlightened governments of the world will not permit of such a policy. Therefore, whatever is done in Africa by the nations claiming territory there, must be done, *bona fide,* in the interest of civilization and humanity; for this is the spirit of modern international law. Thus, no nation, whatever its claims or pretensions, can openly prostitute and oppress the natives of its African possessions, or cheat them out of their immemorial heritage in the land, or prevent them from rising in the scale of civilization, without breaking a most holy principle of human right, which all the great Christian powers in the world are bound and willing to maintain.

It is not the least undesirable that certain territory in Africa is ostensibly under the flags of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium; the only thing for regret is, that the United States is not included in this list. However, the duty of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium, in the premises, is obvious; they must use all reasonable effort to spread Christian light, knowledge, and civilization among the natives; and must treat the natives with patience, kindness, and justice; and must throw wide open the door of hope and opportunity, so that the natives may take part, just as soon as they are qualified, in all the functions of industry, commerce, and government—that is, may become farmers, merchants, artizans, soldiers, magistrates, statesmen, and public officials.

Let us emphasize this point. The Negro is no longer a chattel. In the eye of modern international law, he is the equal of the European. And he has the two great Anglo-

Saxon nations—England and the United States—pledged and avowed by their Great Charters and the unanimity of their best sentiment, to safeguard all his absolute rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, on a par with the white man.

SECTION VI.

Africa, the Black Man's Country.

When we take into account that Africa has today a Negro population of over 250,000,000, and that its European population is less than 2,000,000, and that it was known to the Europeans nearly 5,000 years before America was discovered, and that America has a European population of about 120,000,000, it is illogical, yes, extremely illogical, to argue that it will ever become a favored place of settlement by the white man.

It was only recently that the British Colonial Secretary said in the House of Commons that the prospects for English white settlers in South Africa were far from being encouraging. And it will be readily admitted that South Africa is the most advanced and thriving locality in any part of Africa wholly dominated and governed by white people.

The Semites, Greeks, and Romans tried, again and again, to found colonies in Africa, but with no permanent effect. Hence, Africa is the black man's country.

SECTION VII.

Now is the Time to Move.

We feel satisfied that the time has come, indeed, is most auspicious and opportune, when all the educated and patriotic leaders and teachers of the Negro race, its wise men and women everywhere, in every clime, at every point of the compass, under every flag, and of every creed, should unite and combine their knowledge, wit, and discernment, in trying to work out or devise some strong, sound, practical plan of

action and direction, by which Africa may be reclaimed, civilized, and eventually moulded into a great and powerful Ethiopian Empire. And it strikes us that such a hope is quite within the jurisdiction of statecraft and national evolution. We have everything to assure us of glory and success. Our race is brave and docile, numerous and robust, patient and sympathetic, able to toil and willing to toil, and blended together, in blood, origin, and tradition; and our motherland is rich, munificent, and abundant in every resource; and we are raising up among us, day after day, all over the earth, a splendid, resolute type of scholars and thinkers. Thus, our destiny is in our own hands, and will be whatever we make it. Yes, if we take the right course, the course, today, open to us, we are bound to become, before many generations, a mighty people, a people of valor, refinement, and dominion. But we must not forget a very important thing, a most important thing, and that is, we need to select as guides to point our way through the perplexing mists and intricacies which beset and complicate our development, our best and ablest men and women, men and women versed in all the learning and wisdom of the age, men and women eloquent and judicious in speech, men and women endowed with courage and self-reliance, and men and women imbued to the core with the spirit of justice, freedom, and humanity.

SECTION VIII.

A Good Raw Material.

We look upon the Negro race, from all the viewpoints that we can command, as the raw material out of which may be constructed or developed a noble and invincible type of people, as great a type of people, in every particular, as the world has ever seen. It has the psychical quality, the moral quality, the religious quality, the quality of faith, the quality of bravery, the quality of fortitude, the quality of endurance, the quality of frugality, the quality of physical strength, the

quality of sagacity, the quality of longevity, the quality of friendship, the quality of domesticity, the capacity to learn, the love of justice, and the genius to govern, all in a deep-rooted form in its soul and body. It has, likewise, the elements of power and wealth, because it has an immense membership, a membership of over 250,000,000, and a magnificent country—Africa—abounding in everything that makes for riches, happiness, and elegance. And the moment it gets a good foothold on the advanced institutions of Christendom, it will rise equal to all occasions. That is, once it is brought within the pale of Christian civilization, for in this alone lies its true destiny and the solution of all its vexed problems, it will take an honorable place in the arena of politics, commerce, and diplomacy; and, then, it will be applauded and admired by all enlightened nations.

SECTION IX.

An Outline of the Colony.

It is our fixed intention to make the colony British in the strictest sense of the term. To have everything about it and in it British. To adopt British laws and traditions. To have the system of education British. To follow British ideals of life. And to pattern after British models of society.

We propose to have it administered by a governor and commissioners or ministers of departments of justice, education, finance, public works, agriculture and immigration, appointed by the King, until it becomes, through population and advancement, important enough to be vested with responsible and representative government.

At the outset, we will establish an up-to-date industrial college, on a basis similar to Prof. Booker T. Washington's industrial college in the South, in which will be taught all the useful trades, occupations, and handicrafts, and in which will be studied all the mineral, agricultural, and sylvan resources of Africa, and also the fundamental principles of commerce and business. And we will found a university to

give instruction in literature, science, art, philosophy, and the learned professions. And our common schools will be copies of the best common schools in Anglo-Saxon countries.

Only a special class of people will be induced or allowed to go there—i. e., an intelligent, educated, industrious class—men and women who can fully comprehend all the difficulties and perplexities attending such an enterprise, and who will resolve to battle with these difficulties and perplexities until they surmount them. We are determined to shut the door hard and fast against all who are ignorant, thriftless, and fickle. In this way, our example and success will gradually and firmly inspire the natives, as well as attract to us the best types of civilized Negroes from civilized countries.

SECTION X.

The Territory.

We have not yet decided upon a definite piece of territory, but just as soon as a sufficient number assure us of their sympathy and co-operation, we will make the necessary arrangements with the Imperial Government for a suitable grant in a suitable locality. Let us say, however, that there is plenty of land in British Africa to meet all our wishes without interfering in the least with the whites or the natives.

SECTION XI.

No Race or Color Line.

While this scheme is to specially open up a new role of life to the Negro, we do not bar out the white man. Any white people desiring to cast their lot with us will be heartily welcome to do so, and we will receive them and cherish them as if they were of ourselves, and will be glad and delighted to have them go along to help us and encourage us. We shall know no race or color, but mankind—the *genus homo*. On this we shall build; and on this we shall stand.

SECTION XII.

Our Policy Towards the Natives.

The natives shall, first, last, and always, be to us objects of special and favorable consideration and study, simply because the underlying spirit of our scheme is more for their benefit and welfare than any other class. To the natives we look for the ultimate, triumphant nationalization of the race. Upon the natives the race must depend for a share some day in the seat of the mighty. The natives have at their back 250,000,000 of excellent raw material ready to be fashioned and moulded into usefulness, genius, and power. And hence our policy towards the natives will be patient, kind and just, in the highest degree. We will make them our constant friends, our worthy equals, and our cardinal hope in working out the destiny of Africa.

SECTION XIII.

The Antiquity of the Negro.

The Negro race is the oldest of all the races. That is, the Negro race was the first race on the earth; and was the only race on the earth for years and years; and had a splendid civilization years and years before it gave birth to another race, or before another race sprang from its loins, as it is the *sator gentium.*

The white man, the brown man, the yellow man, and the red man, today, are the growth of ages. They simply bear testimony to some great process of differentiation. Indeed, every transitional stage of differentiation from the Negro to the Caucasian, from the Caucasian to the Hindu, from the Hindu to the Chinese, and from the Chinese to the American Indian, produced an intermediate type. And these differentiations are so intricate that they have defied all attempts to make any kind of an established classification.

Hence, the difference which now obtains between races in temperament and complexion is the effect of climatic forces and thousands of years of transition and adaptation.

The Negroes, by gradually spreading towards the north-west, developed, in course of time, while in contact with a constantly shifting series of environment and obstacles of nature—such as the radical oscillations from extreme heat to extreme cold, and an ever-pressing difficulty to secure food, shelter, and clothing—what appeared to be a new race; and, as a result, we have the Europeans, or white people. As time rolled on, there went out from among the Europeans—but long before their complexion reached the shade which now distinguishes them—a roving class of men and women — who, perhaps, left to escape some rash edict of tyranny—making their way to the south of Asia, and, finally, developing another new type, the Hindu, or brown race, and its various ramifications. Then, from the Hindus there gradually spread over south-eastern Asia a type which grew into another new race, the Chinese, or yellow people. And, lastly, from the Chinese there gradually spread over America a class which developed still another new race, the American Indian, or red man.

In other words, the Caucasian descends or springs directly from the Negro; the Hindu, from the Caucasian; the Chinese, from the Hindu; and the American Indian, from the Chinese. The multitudinous intermediate races are the transitional stages of differentiation between these five definite families. And the mixed races are formed through miscegenation.

To use an appropriate figure, the Caucasian race is the only daughter of the Negro race; the Hindu, the grand-daughter; the Chinese, the great-grand-daughter; the American Indian, the great-great-grand-daughter; and all the other divisions, the conglomerate offspring.

There is a theory that the Hindu is a direct offshoot of the Negro race through Negro emigration from Africa across

the Red Sea into Asia, and thence eastward; and the Chinese and American Indian a continuation of this offshoot eastward, and so on into America; and the Caucasian race an offshoot of Hindu settlers in Europe. But this theory is open to some weighty objections; e. g., the Hindu race bears upon it traces of the effects of environment which it must have met with in its transition of differentiation in no other land short of Central and Western Europe, between the parallels of 45 degrees and 65 degrees. Ancient Ethiopia, where the first race dwelt, and where the first civilization flourished, was in Eastern Africa, between the equator and 20 degrees north latitude. Thus, the environment of Eastern Africa, between the equator and 20 degrees north latitude, and that of India between 8 degrees and 25 degrees north latitude, would differ very slightly, so slightly that a period of 10,000 or 15,000 years' residence of the Negro race in India would scarcely make any perceptible change in its physical contour; at all events, nothing like that which describes the Hindu race, now, or even, described it at the beginning of medieval history. So, the Hindu race carries upon its features the effects of environment found only in Central and Western Europe, between 45 degrees and 65 degrees north latitude. Indeed, the effects of this peculiar environment stand between the Negro and the Hindu in the order of transition and differentiation. And, therefore, the Hindu race must have sprung from the Caucasian, and not the Caucasian race from the Hindu.

The Caucasian is much older than the Hindu. This is made self-evident by comparing the archæology of India with that of Europe — Europe is vastly in the lead in antiquity.

Of course, there were numerous race-varieties adjacent to Africa, both in Asia and in Europe, but these were intermediate deflections forming the links of transition between the Negro and the Caucasian. And these deflections intermarried, forming, still, other new types and shades.

The blending of races is like the blending of colors in the rainbow. Take, for example, two sons of mulatto parents—half white and half black — and let one marry a white woman and the other a black woman; and, then, trace the descendants of each on the mother's side for three generations—each generation intermarrying, respectively, with the Caucasian and the Negro. Going towards the white race, we get in the first generation, a light quadroon—three-quarters white and one-quarter black; in the second, we get a light octoroon—seven-eighths white and one-eighth black; in the third, we get a light sedecroon—fifteen-sixteenths white and one-sixteenth black. Going towards the black race, we get in the first generation, a dark quadroon — three-quarters black and one-quarter white; in the second, we get a dark octoroon—seven-eighths black and one-eighth white; in the third, we get a dark sedecroon—fifteen-sixteenths black and one-sixteenth white. Here we have six persons connected by blood and origin, and no two of the same complexion. In three generations we get the extreme deflections of white and black—the light sedecroon and the dark sedecroon. And their great-grand-fathers were full brothers—mulattoes.

If the light sedecroons and the dark sedecroons intermarry, there is produced still another variety.

This blending, or its result, is constantly met with among the people around the Red Sea—on both the African and the Asiatic sides. It is also met with on the African side of the Mediterranean. And it is quite noticeable in certain localities in Europe. But in no country is it so manifest, so glaring, as in the Southern States of the United States of America — the Caucasian and the Negro are so mixed up there that it is almost, if not quite, impossible to find a pure white or a pure black. Forsooth, some of the proudest and the most aristocratic white families in the South have Negro blood in their veins, the blood of their Negro slaves, but do not believe it, and could not be made to believe it. They would loathe such an idea. And, yet, that very drop

of Negro blood, which they so unwittingly despise, is the very *lac melque animae* which quickens their faces with beauty, their figures with grace, and their tongues with eloquence.

Those who claim a greater age for the Hindu and the Chinese than for the Negro and the Caucasian are misled by the pretensions of Hindu and Chinese schoolmen, who seek to place their people at the very dawn of creation. It is maintained that India and China were civilized 20,000 years ago. Well, suppose this is true, does it in any way weaken the argument that Africa was civilized more than 400,000 years ago, and Europe more than 100,000? Not in the least.

From closely and carefully studying the revelations of geology and anthropology, we are strongly convinced that man has occupied the earth not one hour less than 1,000,000 years; and that a primative degree of animal life existed on the earth at least 3,000,000 years before man appeared. Let us say, however, that the exact or precise origin of man is a sublime, oblivious blank. Whether he came into existence in the order of a long process of evolution, or was the crowning act of the will of some ineffable being, no one has been able to decide. On the subject, science is mute, silent, speechless; so is philosophy; so is theology. The most that any of us can postulate is, that man is on the earth, and has been on the earth for a very, very long time — fully 1,000,000 years; but just how he got on the earth, by what kind of event, or series of events, except by the hand of God, we do not know. The speculations that fill the books, and load down the shelves of libraries, are no more nor less than overstrained fictions of learning—an overcultivated thirst for knowledge of the Infinite, a knowledge that can never be acquired by a creature whose lease of physical existence has a beginning and an end, and whose conceptions of the universe, in their most extensive aspect, are limited to a circle that may be surveyed by the vision of a telescope.

SECTION XIV.

The Negro's Record Since 1863.

Examining the Negro's record in the United States since his emancipation, in 1863, it is truly phenomenal, truly marvellous. Listen! His accumulations of real and personal property exceed a thousand million dollars. The estimated value of his farms, clear of all encumbrances, is about $400,000,000; of city and country residences and stores, about $325,000,000; of personal property, about $300,000,000; of church property, about $37,000,000; of school property, about $12,000,000; and of libraries and equipments, about $1,000,000; making a total of $1,075,000,000. He has, also, three reliable banks. And, moreover, he has 30,000 teachers; 250 lawyers; 500 physicians; 60 druggists; 75 dentists; 300 authors; 6 sculptors; 12 artists; 10 musical composers; 8 poets; thousands of clergymen; 4 magazines; 400 newspapers; libraries containing about 850,000 volumes, besides pamphlets, manuscripts, and unbound publications; 156 high schools; 17 colleges and universities; and in the last forty-two years, has collected and expended over $10,000,000 for special and technical education. Again, in fraternal societies, he is a Free Mason, a Knight of Pythias, an Odd Fellow, a Forester, and a Good Templar. And he has hospitals, asylums, and homes, in which to care for his sick, and aged, and unfortunate. And he has sat in the State Legislature, been elected to the House of Representatives and the Senate, acted as Marshal of the District of Columbia, been appointed as Minister to foreign countries, been Registrar of the Treasury; been Registrar of the District of Columbia, and filled other important positions under the government of the nation. And he makes a good servant, a good master, a good laborer, a good mechanic, a good farmer, a good citizen, and a good neighbor. And wherever he has been intrusted with a public duty, at home

or abroad, he has invariably performed it with becoming fidelity, intelligence, and dignity.

We do not wish to leave the impression, however, that the United States Negro, albeit he has made astonishing headway in the last forty-two years, is all that he should be, or that he is, *per se,* an exception to his race. We merely contend that he has done well, very well under the circumstances; so well that he deserves the praise of his friends and the respect of his enemies. He is not as high by a long distance as he can rise; he can rise higher, a great deal higher. Hence, he should go on striving and striving until he attains knowledge, and discernment, and spirit, and all the virtues, and graces, and decores, on a par with the very best types of the Anglo-Saxon. If logic has made it clear that he is a precious stone just beginning to undergo the process of lapidating, let him keep the process up until the work of polishing is complete; then, he will sparkle; then, he will become a potent force; and, then, all doubt as to his richness and value will be removed.

SECTION XV.

The Negro and the South.

The Southern Negro bears an entirely different relation to the bounty of the Southern whites from that of any other citizen. He did not go to the South of his own accord. His ancestors were taken there against their will, and held in bondage, and bought, and sold, and lashed, and outraged, and prostituted, and dehumanized, for about 243 years — i. e., from 1620 to 1863. And, on this account alone, if no other, he should be made the special protege of the white South's guardianship, beneficence, and consideration, until all his wounds and sores are healed and his scars obliterated. The white South owes him as much as this at the very least. For 243 long, dreary, sad, painful years — 243 years of heartrending sorrow, humiliation, oppression, and degrada-

tion— he felled its forests, tilled its lands, gathered its harvests, defended its homes in times of distress, and made his harsh and cruel masters rich and opulent, and the only compensation he received was a curse, a kick, a club, the whipping post, the auction block.

Alas! the Southern whites are committing a most miserable blunder in not making the education, elevation, and prosperity of the Negro a thing of the gravest concern. They should give him all his rights as a man; as a man that has been abused; as a man that needs sympathy; as a man that belongs to a brave and noble race; as a man that has proved himself in shadow and sunshine, in bondage and freedom, worthy of confidence and the highest admiration. They must wait until he has had a fair trial; until he has been trained and educated, side by side, with their own sons and daughters, in first-class schools and colleges; until he has had ample opportunity to master all the subtleties and niceties of modern civilization; until his soul and body are healed and cured of the deep sores and wounds of a most blighting, stinging, excruciating slavery, before they can pass final judgment upon his morality, ability, or capacity. They should mark well, that their true course, their only course, is to hew to the line of their Great Charter — the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—observing, in letter and spirit, all its maxims and behests, and laying particular stress upon the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.

SECTION XVI.

The Negroes of America.

North and South America and the West Indies contain about 12,000,000 Negroes; and of this number, about 10,000,000 belong to the United States—that is, to continental United States.

In North and South America and the West Indies, the Negroes are a mixed people — mixed with the Caucasian

race. For instance, out of the 12,000,000 Negroes in North and South America and the West Indies, it is safe to say, that fully 8,500,000 are mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons. And the remaining 3,500,000, though of darker shades, are also, more or less, mixed with the Caucasian.

The mulattoes are half-breeds—half white and half black.

From the mulattoes, both up and down the scale, we get the variety of color, the light octoroons and the dark octoroons, and all intermediate hues. The light octoroons are seven-eights white and one-eighth black, and the dark octoroons, seven-eighths black and one-eighth white. Above and below this, as the intermingling of the two bloods does not stop here, it is quite impossible to tell the deflections from the pure blood itself.

The light octoroon is grouped with the Negro race.

The next degree of mixture to the octoroon is the sedecroon.

A light sedecroon cannot be told from a pure white, nor a dark sedecroon from a pure black, although both are of mixed blood—the former one-sixteenth Negro, the latter one-sixteenth Caucasian.

In communities where the black population is equal, or nearly equal, to the white population, the pure blood of the Negro and the Caucasian is wholly extinguished. In all such places, wherever they happen to be, it is the exception to find a thorough-bred black or a thorough-bred white, the extreme deflections, after they pass the dark octoroon or the light octoroon, baffling all detection.

The light sedecroons hail for all white, while the dark sedecroons are dubbed as out-and-out Negroes.

In the Southern States, where miscegenation has been more pronounced than in any other centre of Negro population in the world, and where there are about 9,000,000 Negroes, the light sedecroons compose about seven-tenths of the indigenous whites—i. e., the whites who descend from the old slave-holding class.

And the light sedecroons, as a general rule, are very

pretty. Indeed, the handsomest men and women in the South are light sedecroons—one-sixteenth Negro and fifteen-sixteenths Caucasian. And where their Caucasian ancestry is of the Anglo-Saxon type—English, or Irish, or Scotch—and their Negro ancestry of a good type of the African race, the light sedecroons are among the cleverest men and women of the nation. As orators and writers they take a very high rank.

The Southern whites should not be one bit ashamed because they are tinged with Negro; indeed, they might boast of it, without, in the least, transgressing any of the proprieties of modesty. Thousands and thousands of the noble families of France, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, are in the same category; and they know it; and they do not deny it.

SECTION XVII.

The Ancient Egyptians.

The ancient Egyptians belonged to the Ethiopic branch of the Negro race.

In our inquiries into this matter, we must not lose sight of a very potent and pertinent piece of evidence, viz., that there are, today, more than 250,000,000 Negroes in Africa; that Negroes are found on every square mile of Africa, where man can exist; that the Negroes are the aborigines of Africa; in other words, that the Negroes have inhabited Africa from time immemorial; and that the Negroes of Africa still have among them, even in spite of their wide-spread wretchedness, some splendid characters.

Again, if we closely examine the head of the mummy of Seti I., the father of Rameses II., we will see that it has very prominently the features of a well-bred Negro. The lips and nose and chin indicate most conclusively that he was a Negro of royal birth, and belonged to an exalted caste.

The sphinxes of Egypt stood for Negroes of royal and military rank — Negroes who had long enjoyed all the

benignities of great riches, broad culture, and unchallenged dominion. The influence of ease and high position makes a marked change, in a century or so, in the appearance of a race. It will make a wonderful change even in a generation. Take, for example, two brothers, and cradle one in good society and the other in a low slum, and a vast difference will be noticed between them; so much so, that it would be exceedingly difficult to make a stranger believe that they are children of the same father and mother. And, therefore, it is not a good method of logic to compare a nude savage of the swamps of the Niger with the mummy of Seti I., and finding a disparity between them, just that disparity which the antithesis of condition would produce, pronounce them as belonging to distinct races. The same kind of logic would apply to the disparity between a modern Italian navvy and Julius Cæsar. But if we take the cultivated modern Negro, we find that he bears a good comparison with the cultivated ancient Egyptian; and looking at them in this way, which is the only correct way, we are forced to decide that both are of the same blood, type, and origin. The late Sir Samuel Lewis, of Sierra Leone, a distinguished West African Negro, was as good a typical likeness of Shishak, the great war-king of Egypt, as the late Pope Leo XIII., a distinguished Caucasian, was of Cicero, the great Roman orator.

It is not very likely that Egyptians with lips as thick as your wrist, and noses covering their faces, and low retreating foreheads — and there were doubtless lots of just such Egyptians—would get their images into public art galleries. As a rule, the best types of people, and this was especially so among the ancients, occupy the best offices—i. e., such as kings, priests, judges, statesmen, generals, poets, and teachers—and only the most celebrated among these, even, attract the attention of sculptors and painters. In fact, only a very limited few, in any age, are able to employ sculptors and painters.

There can surely be no doubt about Amenemhat I. being

a full-blooded Negro. Let any one who has ever seen a well-bred Negro, look at his statue and bear witness, and the response will come without a moment's hesitation that he was a typical Negro.

Amenemhat I. ruled over Egypt B.C. 2778-2748, a period of 30 years. He was a just king, a wise statesman, and a soldier of great tact and prowess.

The Amenemhat type may still be found among the high caste Negroes all over Central and East Africa. We have often seen Negroes even of the Guinease group, of West Africa, of his type. And we have met Negroes in America of his type. Of course, the American Negroes are nearly all mixed with Caucasian in various degrees; nevertheless, we know scores and scores of dark sedecroons—Negroes slightly tinged with white—who are very good likenesses of him. We have in mind a Negro clergyman who looks enough like him to be a twin brother.

And then the statues of Usertesen I., Amenemhat III., Neferhotep, Sebekhotep, Antef V., Menkauhor, Renuser, Khafna, Menkaura, Queen Nubkhas, and Queen Nerfert, which are still preserved, confirm us in our belief that the ruling people of Egypt, in those days, were Negroes. The statues of Rahotep and Nefert show also that their originals belonged to the Negro race. Indeed, we are fully convinced that from the earliest times to B.C. 2400, Egypt was ruled, without intermission, by Negro kings; and the prevailing people, and all the people of great note, in Egypt, were typical Negroes.

The present condition of the Negro in Africa, as low as it is, and it is low enough, is no argument whatever against his illustrious origin. No one thinks of arguing, that because the Greeks, today, have no genius equal to Miltiades, Miltiades was not a Greek. Nor should it be argued that because the modern Negroes have no leader, who, in all things, measures up to the level of Sabacus, Sabacus was not a Negro. Perhaps the gulf is as wide between Miltiades and

the most skillful modern Greek general as it is between Sabacus and the most clever military leader among the modern Negroes. It is very doubtful whether the Greeks have raised up a man, in modern times, on a par with Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Negro liberator of Hayti, who was said, by a celebrated American orator, to be the peer of Alexander, Washington, and Napoleon. The modern Greeks are but a grim, draggley, shabby memory of their forefathers. And it is a question whether they can produce, today, as many clever men and women of equal calibre, and show as much progress in the last 40 years, as the Negroes. They are not as progressive, or as free, or as self-reliant, or as strong, as the Abyssinians.

We must not forget to cite the Jews. The Jews were once a famous people, but today they are scattered to the four winds, and, like the Greeks, have no men of great renown. Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Isaiah, and Daniel have not been equalled by any modern Jew. In fact, the modern Jews are without a land or a government, or a nation, or even a colony under their administration or joint administration. In this respect they are behind the Negroes; the Negroes have at least four nations—Abyssinia, Liberia, Hayti, and San Domingo—and jointly administer Jamaica, Barbados, and Sierra Leone, three British colonies.

Hence, when we come to carefully sum up all the evidence bearing on this question, and make up our minds to construe this evidence according to the strict rules of reason, we will quickly see, if our conceits and prejudices are not callous and hide-bound, that the modern Negroes and the ancient Egyptians are connected in about the same degree of blood as the modern Italians and the ancient Romans, the modern Greeks and the ancient Greeks, and the modern Jews and the ancient Jews — the same kind of people, but living in different epochs and under vastly different conditions.

SECTION XVIII.

South Africa.

We will here offer a few words of comment on the situation of the white race and the black race in South Africa.

South Africa was discovered by Diaz, a Portuguese navigator, in 1486, six years before Columbus discovered America. And, in 1620, it was formally claimed in the name of England. And, in 1652, thirty-two years later, the Dutch set up a colony.

So, it may be said that the advent of white settlers into South Africa dates from 1652; and Dutch people were the pioneers. And, today, the white element is made up of Dutch, English, German, French, Portuguese, and a sprinkling of Spanish. As to the black element, it is of the Kaffir group of the Negro race, which is divided into the Zulu, Basuto, and Matabele tribes, and these tribes may still be classed into a number of petty subdivisions — subdivisions wrought through miscegnation and other causes or influences.

Now, looking at the whole regime of the whites in South Africa, from the first settlement in 1652 to the present time, it has been openly and intentionally hostile to the natives. We make no exception in favor of Dutch, English, German, French, Portuguese, or Spanish; all — all without exception—have treated the natives with most relentless severity and bitterness.

And, hence, the natives' contact with the whites has been everything else but the kind to elevate them in the scale of Christian civilization.

Alack! and alack! From 1652 to 1834, a period of 182 years, the natives were the victims of the worst system of chattel slavery that ever blasted the hopes of any human being. And since 1834, their condition has been most pitiable; their freedom being to them no more nor less than a huge mockery—yes, a grotesque burlesque of liberty, equity, and humanity.

To be frank about the matter, the natives of South Africa are crushed, and crushed, and crushed, under the heavy heel of tyranny. This expresses their condition in a nutshell. When we compare them — crawling on all fours, panting under terrible burdens, and completely shut out from all opportunity to gain light, knowledge, and refinement—with the Negroes of America, who are marching with giant strides towards the goal of Christian civilization, it makes us sigh, it makes us feel sorrowful, it stirs up our commiseration.

However, as to British South Africa, we are not in the least discouraged; we believe that in time everything will turn out there all right; we have abiding faith in the justice of British statesmen and their ability to ultimately cope with the most puzzling of problems.

It seems to us that the only short, sound, sure way to deal with the natives of British South Africa, in order to bring them in touch with the impulses of Anglo-Saxon energy and progress, is to establish, equip, and support, a comprehensive, compulsory system of industrial and common schools. Indeed, by the expenditure of a few thousand pounds,annually, along this line, the natives, in less than a generation, can be made a robust, intelligent, useful, thrifty class of citizens.

Too much time has been taken up, hitherto, with very slim results, in teaching the natives how to say their prayers, and not how to build a house, or shoe a horse, or make a pair of boots, or plant a garden, or sow a field of grain. It is a good thing to know how to pray, but it is a mighty good thing to know how to assume, and face, and shoulder, and successfully carry the responsibilities of modern civilized life. It would be well for the missionary to impress the natives with the unction of the old Latin saying—*ora et labora.*

We cannot refrain from expressing our strong condemnation of the Coolie labor policy in vogue in the principal

mining centres of British South Africa. We view this policy as being most impolitic and un-British. And we trust that it will immediately be discontinued.

There is another matter of which we feel it our bounden duty to speak. We have been given to understand that in certain parts of British South Africa, Negro missionaries, from the United States of America, have been refused the privilege of ministering to the religious needs of the natives. If this be so, we hope that the refusal is but temporary, and that the time is not far off when no impediments whatever will be imposed, in any section of British Africa, to any race or creed teaching Christianity. And we will add, that we firmly believe that our hope will soon be realized.

SECTION XIX.

An Appeal to the White Nations.

We appeal to the kings, and presidents, and statesmen, and governments of the enlightened white nations, to hold Africa in reserve for the Negro race.

The white race has Europe, America, Australia, and New Zealand. And this is a tremendous scope of territory. America alone has an area of about 16,600,000 square miles, with a population of only about 120,000,000, when it is capable of maintaining, in great pomp and ease, a population of over 2,000,000,000.

So, the white man has more land, today, under his dominion and sway than he can fully develop for the next 5,000 or 6,000 years; and, hence, we think he can afford to set apart Africa to the black man. We do not mean that any white nation possessing territory in Africa should surrender it, or desert it, but only beseech of it to keep that territory for its black subjects, and not encourage or allow other races—European, Semitic, Hindu, or Mongolian—to go there in large numbers to settle.

SECTION XX.

The Negro Problem.

We do not undertake this scheme for the purpose of solving the Negro problem in the United States. Our chief aim is to bring Africa within the pale of Christian civilization; and this we maintain will eventually solve the Negro problem all over the whole earth.

The Negro problem of the United States is a local affair, confined almost entirely to the South, and thus must be worked out on the ground itself by those who have special opportunities for studying and knowing the idiosyncracies of both races. We believe that it will be worked out, and worked out, too, according to the principles of equity and fair play. Of course, it will take some time to work it out; perhaps, more than a generation. But it is bound to be worked out.

It is not very likely that a nation of the temper and genius of the United States, with its long array of brilliant, discerning statesmen and scholars, is going to be baffled forever with the question—*whether a citizen, black or white, shall be given all his absolute rights, guaranteed to him, under its Great Charter?* For our part, we think not.

It should not be forgotten that the United States freed its slaves at the terrible sacrifice of a most sanguinary civil war. And a nation that will go to this extent to give men their freedom, may easily be trusted to do everything within its power—and its power is almost infinite—to secure to them the enjoyment and exercise of that freedom which has cost it so much to bring to pass.

We have often applied the same argument to England. We have argued that if England had a sentiment and a sympathy strong, and warm, and bold enough to abolish the slave trade, and impose and execute heavy fines and penalties upon those who disregarded its abolishment, and, finally, at an expenditure of millions of pounds of indemnity, set

all her slaves free and make them Britons, it is self-evident that she is the natural, abiding, true friend of the Negro race.

The Negroes of the South need not get disheartened in their present very trying and seemingly perilous situation. The United States is quite capable of unravelling all the difficulties that beset them; and will do it justly and righteously; and, in the end, will win the applause of mankind.

And hence our invitation to the Negroes of the United States to join our scheme is not to expressly aid them in escaping or getting rid of persecution, but to open up a way to them to better their condition by laying the foundation of nationhood and empire in the land of their forefathers. We invite them to study and take an interest in the great world-problems; and the civilization or nationalization of Africa is one of these great world-problems. It is not our purpose to tell them that if they do not go to Africa today or tomorrow they will be exterminated or annihilated root and branch. But we will tell them that the sooner they go to Africa, to carve out their destiny and fortune there, the sooner they will be able to prove to the nations that they are men among men—men to be admired and respected.

Again, we do not expect all the Negroes of America to follow us. We expect only a few. We want only a few. And we want that few to be of a particular class. All who were oppressed in England in 1620 did not leave on the "Mayflower." Some stayed, and would not come, and never came; but the Pilgrim Fathers were bound to come, and did come, and laid the foundation of a great, and mighty, and prosperous nation. The same course is open to the Negroes of America, of similar spirit, resolution, and intelligence; they can go to Africa and lay the foundation of a great, and mighty, and prosperous nation there, and, finally, redeem their whole race from the bondage of barbarism and heathenism.

SECTION XXI.

LIBERIA.

We must not forget Liberia, the black republic in West Africa.

We have always looked upon Liberia with a deep, fervent pride. It is an eternal credit to the Negro race, and a lasting compliment to the foresight and generosity of the statesmen and philanthropists who founded it. It shows what the Negro can do under the most trying, and pressing, and discouraging circumstances. Indeed, it shows most conclusively that the Negro has within him the living, deepening, evolving germ of civilization and self-government.

We all know that the beginnings of Liberia were very, very embarrassing; yes, embarrassing enough to break the spirit of a band of Titans; and yet it has survived, and, today, is well fixed upon a solid basis of advancement and prosperity.

A very notable thing about Liberia is, it is one of the most peaceful, temperate, law-abiding countries on the earth. During its whole career, there has not been a revolution nor a conspiracy against any of its rulers. All its presidents preceding the Hon. Arthur Barclay, except one, finished their full terms of office. The Hon. Arthur Barclay is the present president; he was inaugurated about a year ago.

If the public men of Liberia fully grapple with its situation and importance, and put forth a stalwart effort to open up its resources, and bring it in touch with the commercial world, and draw there some of the wealth and intellect of the Negroes of America, they can soon make it a rich, bright, influential little nation.

SECTION XXII.

AN AWAKENING AMONG THE NEGROES.

The leading Negroes, today, all over the earth, are beginning to delve deeply into the great world-knowledge and take

an untiring interest in the study of the great world-problems. Or, in other words, the Negroes everywhere are turning out some clever students; and these students are fortifying all their investigations with the serene, exact, refining force of a comprehensive modern education.

We have made special inquiry along this line, and we find that Negro students rank well in the best European and American universities. And in looking over the recent output of Negro authors, we have also noticed that their style, in the majority of cases, is becoming more and more virile and inventive. This is, indeed, a good omen.

SECTION XXIII.

Facilities for Conveyance.

Comparatively speaking, their is no obstacle now in the way of getting to Africa. The great steamship companies are willing, for a moderate subsidy and a reasonable fare, to undertake the transportation of as many people as wish to go there. Already, a new line has been organized in New York — the New York and Liberia Steamship Company*— to make regular trips between certain ports of the United States and Liberia, and other points on the West Coast. And this line, we may add, has the special endorsement of Bishop Turner, Atlanta, Georgia; Bishop Derrick, New York; Bishop Arnett, Xenia, Ohio; and Bishop Scott, New Orleans, Louisiana.

SECTION XXIV.

Will Begin Without Delay.

We do not intend to delay this matter. Just as soon as we can get enough of the right kind of men and women interested in the scheme, we will make the necessary arrangements

*New York & Liberia Steamship Co., M. P. Smith & Sons Co., General Managers, 116 Broad street, New York City.

with the Imperial Government, and then take over our first shipment, and lay the foundation of our colony.

SECTION XXV.

A Heavy Task.

We are free to admit that to work out this scheme and make it a practical, visible success is a heavy task, a task of great magnitude, a task fraught on all sides with almost all kinds of bewildering perplexities. And yet we are firmly convinced that it can be worked out and made a practical, visible success. But to work it out and make it a practical, visible success, will require patience, courage, self-denial, genius, learning, and judgment of the highest quality and the deepest die.

SECTION XXVI.

A Summing Up.

In summing up the foregoing sections, let us say that we have presented our arguments in the best form at our command.

We have explained that our purpose is to form a colony in some part of British Africa, composed of an intelligent, educated, industrious class of English-speaking Negroes, drawn from English-speaking countries, and endeavored to make it clear that our idea is feasible and practical. We have discussed the resources of Africa; its extent; and its relation to the nations of Europe. We have pointed out that Africa is more the black man's country than the white man's country, as the white man has never prospered there in a marked degree. We have urged that now is the accepted time to carry our plan into effect. We have expressed it as our ever-abiding conviction that the Negro race is the raw material out of which it is possible to mould a great self-governing and useful people. We have outlined our proposed colony. We have spoken of the territory open to us to

occupy. We have assured the public that it is our determination to treat all races and colors alike. We have announced what our policy shall be towards the natives. We have shown that the Negro is the oldest of all the races of mankind, and developed the first civilization. We have directed attention to the Negro's splendid record. We have dealt with the Negro's condition in the Southern States. We have inquired into the causes of the variety, type, and complexion of the Negroes of America. We have established that the ancient Egyptians were Negroes. We have commented upon the situation of the two races in South Africa. We have appealed to the enlightened white nations of the world to hold Africa in reserve for the blacks. We have stated our position with respect to the Negro problem. We have remembered the republic of Liberia. We have noticed the awakening among the Negroes. We have found no obstacles in the way of transportation. We have promised that there shall be no delay. We have acknowledged the burdens and perplexity which the scheme imposes and involves. And we now have the honor of subscribing ourselves,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

A. B. WALKER.

St. John, N. B., Canada, January 12, 1905.

P.S. It grieves us deeply to have to announce that our Movement has recently sustained a very severe loss in the death of our beloved and most highly esteemed vice-president, the Rev. E. L. Coffin, Pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, which took place December 28, 1904. And we hereby express our heartfelt sympathy for his widow and children in their sad bereavement.

A. B. W.

APPENDIX.

Below will be found a Form of Application to be copied, filled in, and signed by those wishing to connect themselves with this Movement. There are no fees.

THE AFRICAN CIVILIZATION MOVEMENT.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

I, the undersigned, am desirous of becoming an active member of and co-operator in the above Movement, and thus forward to the President thereof the following statement:

Name .....

Male or Female .....

Address .....

Age .....

Race .....

Nationality .....

Condition of Health .....

Married or Single .....

Number in Family .....

Trade, Occupation, or Profession .....

Extent of Education. .....

Remarks .....

Date .....

Signature .....

N. B.—Address all communications, relating to this Movement, to A. B. WALKER, Barrister-at-Law, President of the A. C. M., St. John, N. B., Canada.